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THE RUSSIAN EXPANSION TOWARDS ASIA AND THE ARCTIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES (TO 1500)

ON any general view of European history, there are few more interesting and suggestive chapters than that which records the expansion of the Russian people—the geographical vanguard of European Christendom and civilization—towards the Arctic Ocean on one side, towards and across Northern Asia on another. Whatever criticisms may be passed upon the Russian race, it is certainly the pioneer of our Western world in these vast regions of the North and East. And nowhere in the Old World has the primitive Roman area of Christian civilization been so widened as in the lands, from the Dnyestr to the White Sea and from the Baltic to the Sea of Japan, which have been gradually penetrated, conquered and colonized by the Slavonic-Scandinavian *Russ*.

Scarcely any part of Russian history before Peter the Great has been adequately treated and properly understood by non-Russian historians. And where in this neglected field shall we find a more neglected plot than the record of Russian expansion in the Middle Ages? Something is generally known of the early conflicts of the *Ros* with the Byzantine Empire; of the conversion of these “tall, white, and crafty barbarians”¹ by the Eastern Church; and of the destruction of Russian independence by the Mongol Tartars. But has attention often been paid to the early stages of that racial movement which has carried the Russian blood, speech and faith over so wide an area? The primitive home-land of the Russian people did not include more than a fraction, lying almost wholly in the West-Central zone, of the present Russia-in-Europe. It was the political, mercantile and adventuring ambition of Russian states, traders and freebooters, which gave in time so noteworthy an extension to the Russian name—here representative, as one faces away from Europe, of European Christianity, society and organization. In this paper I will confine myself to the Russian movements towards and into those two Siberias—European and Asiatic—which lay north and northeast of the primitive Russ, and which gave to this great colonizing race the earliest opportunity for displaying its aptitude in the exploitation and absorption of distant lands.

¹ As they are described by early Muslim observers.

The first discovery and conquest of the North and East, to the Polar Ocean and the modern province of Tobolsk, seems to have been primarily the work of the leading Russian city of the North-West, that Old Novgorod on the Volkhov, which in position and importance, as the chief town of the Neva or Gulf of Finland basin, roughly answers in medieval history to St. Petersburg in modern.² Probably about the time of the First Crusade (1096) and certainly before the second (1147) the men of Novgorod had already come into touch with the country of the Lower Ob, just beyond the Ural Mountains. Long ere this, perhaps as early as the closing years of the tenth century (950–1000), the Novgorodian pioneers seem to have penetrated into Lapland and the upper valley of the Northern Dvina. The latter formed a waterway conducting either towards the White Sea or towards the Ural; and following the latter direction, probably along the course of the Vychegda, the Russians in the course of the eleventh century reached the Pechora, most distant of European rivers. By the head-streams of the Pechora one naturally ascended into the heart of the Northern Ural highland, and it seems reasonable to fix in one of the North Ural passes those Iron Gates which the Novgorod pioneers vainly attempted to force in 1032, suffering a disastrous repulse at the hands of the native Finnish tribes.³

The beginning of the next century shows us Novgorod in communication with the Asiatic lands immediately beyond the dividing range. Speaking of a year which apparently answers to A. D. 1112, the *Fundamental Chronicle*, usually known as Nestor's, tells how one Guryata Rogovishch of Novgorod had sent his servant to the Pechora, how the Pechora folk then paid tribute to *Novgrad*, and how from the Pechora the messenger went on to *Yugra*. We may doubt the intelligence which Guryata received, from *Yugrian*⁴ report, of the mysterious people enclosed in lofty mountains by a gulf of the sea, ever fruitlessly struggling to hew a way out of

² Mr. Robert Michell of Penzance, England, has for years been engaged upon a translation of the *Novgorodskaya Lyetopis* or *Chronicle of Novgorod*, mainly from the text published by the Russian Archaeographical Commission (St. Petersburg, 1888), which when published will be of great service to all English-speaking students of history, and perhaps to many other Western scholars.

³ The Iron Gates of this Far North-East, not to be confused with the more famous Iron Gates of Derbent in the Far South-East (of the Caucasus), perhaps lay in the valley of the river Shchugor, in about 64° N. Lat., near Mt. Toll Pos Is, the highest summit of the Ural range. Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas* (ed. of 1880), map no. 67, "Russland 966–1114", places these *Eiserne Pforten* in the valley of the Sysola, towards the easternmost part of the Dvina basin.

⁴ For modern ethnographical language, we might perhaps translate *Yugrian* by *Ostyak*. See additional notes at the end of this article.

their rocky prison, and holding intercourse with other men only by a little opening through which they screeched their unknown lingo, thrust out an iron finger, and bartered furs for iron.⁵ But there is no reason to doubt the plain historical statement which introduces this legend, or to see in Nestor's Yugra anything very different from the Yugra of later time—the region of the Northern Ural and the valley of the Lower Ob.

Now this Siberian connection, it must be noticed, is not a passing incident, like the early Russian dominion on the Azov or in the Crimea, or the early Russian raids towards and even beyond the Caucasus.⁶ On the contrary, it appears fairly persistent throughout the central and later Middle Ages; and when in the fifteenth century the Novgorod sphere-of-influence in the North is finally torn away by Moscow, the Moscovite power, without loss of time, begins to interfere in Yugra, subjugating it far more thoroughly than before to its new Russian overlord.

For the greater part of the twelfth century, it is true, Novgorod history tells only of matters nearer home, though the tribute-gathering expedition of 1169 in the *Trans-Volok* (or regions beyond Bye-loe Ozero)⁷ may have been concerned with payments as far as Asia, and the foundation of Vyatka in 1174 carries Novgorod settlement far nearer to Siberia than before, along a more southerly track. But in 1187 we hear again of Yugra to some purpose; both here and in lands west of Ural the natives now rose and massacred their Russian masters or customers. The punitive expedition of 1193 failed to restore Novgorodian power; though one Yugrian town was taken, and another besieged, the whole Russian force was ultimately destroyed, save eighty men, who in 1194 made their way home to the Volkhov.⁸

How and when intercourse with Siberia was restored we are not told; but this restoration had evidently taken place by the middle of the thirteenth century, for in a celebrated agreement made in 1264 between the Novgorodians and their Prince Yaroslav, the

⁵ *Chronicle of Nestor* (*Chronica Nestoris textum Russo-Slovenicum*), ed. Fr. Miklosich (Vienna, 1860), ch. 81. The title *pervonachalnaya* or *fundamental* is often applied to this chronicle by old Russian writers.

⁶ I leave for another time some brief consideration of this South-Eastern chapter of Russian expansion, hardly less curious and interesting than the North-Eastern, but of less continuous historical value.

⁷ The *Za-Volochie*, *Trans-Volok*, or Country beyond the Portage, is a term constantly used to include all the Lower Dvina basin, but is generally understood as stopping short of the Mezen.

⁸ *Novgorod Chronicle* (*Novgorodskaya Lyetopis*), ed. of the Russian Archaeographical Commission (St. Petersburg, 1888), A. M. 6695, 6701, 6702 (A. D. 1187, 1193, 1194).

Yugrian country, like the Pechora, appears reckoned among the domains (or at least in the sphere-of-interest) of Novgorod.⁹ Sixty years later, in 1323 and 1329, the Novgorod Annals complain of outrages—robbery and murder—upon the citizens of the Republic on their way to Yugra.¹⁰ These outrages were the work of Russian enemies from Ustyug in the Upper Dvina basin, planted conveniently upon the flank of the trade-route from Novgorod to the North-East, and thus a constant danger to the commerce in furs and precious metals which the great Hanseatic market carried on with the forests and mountains of its sub-Arctic sphere in both the European and the Asiatic Siberia. Again, the demand of Moscow, in 1332–1333, for tribute in silver for the lands beyond the Kama—the first sign of the coming Moscovite overlordship, advanced by the founder of the earliest Moscovite power, the bursar-prince Ivan Kalita¹¹—clearly refers to the mining wealth which Novgorod had long exploited in the Northern Ural.

Lastly, in 1445, within a generation of the ruin both of the Novgorod empire and of the independence of the Republic, we hear of a last vigorous effort to assert Novgorodian rule in Siberia. Again the *Chronicle* tells of initial successes; two generals, we read, gathered a force in the Trans-Volok, attacked the Yugrians, and made many prisoners. Then, as before, victory ends in ruinous defeat. The natives, pretending to submit, drew together in force, fell suddenly upon the Russians, and stormed their chief fastness; only a part of the Novgorod army had the good fortune to get out of the country which they had so nearly mastered.¹²

In 1471–1478 Moscow crushed Novgorod and took over the Novgorodian empire. But even before this Moscovite forces had begun the conquest of that Yugrian Siberia with which Novgorod had dealt so long. A new Grand Prince had begun his reign in the White Stone City¹³—the “Re-uniter of Russian lands”, the

⁹ See Nicholas Karamzin, *History of the Russian Empire* (*Istoriya Gosudarstva Rossiiskago*), vol. IV., p. 59, in Einerling's ed. (St. Petersburg, 1842); vol. IV., p. 114, in St. Thomas and Jauffret's French version. This agreement stipulates that Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich, successor (after Andrew Yaroslavich) of Alexander Nevsky in the Grand Principality, could not, himself, his wife, or any of his nobles or gentlemen, possess any villages in the domains of Novgorod such as Volok, Torjok, etc., or in Vologda, Zavolche, Kola, Perm, Pechora, or Yugra.

¹⁰ *Nov. Chron. (Novgorodsk. Lyetopis)*, ed. as quoted above, A. M. 6831, 6837 (A. D. 1323, 1329).

¹¹ *Nov. Chron.*, A. M. 6840 (A. D. 1332). Ivan Kalita was Grand Prince (*Velikii Knyaz*) of Moscow from 1328 to 1340.

¹² *Nov. Chron.*, A. M. 6953 (A. D. 1445).

¹³ *Byelo-Kamennoyaya* (Moskva).

future conqueror of Novgorod and of the Tartars, the founder of the Moscow tsardom, Ivan III., the Great (1462-1505). The ubiquitous energy of this eastern Louis XI. made itself felt in the Urals and Asia, when, in 1465, at the very opening of his reign, Ustyug adventurers, his faithful vassals, raided Yugra and brought two Yugrian princes, with many other prisoners, to Moscow. Ivan received oaths of fidelity and promises of tribute from these "people of the Ob"; as the first Moscovite to assert dominion in Siberia, he shortly after took the style of Lord of Yugra.

In 1483, now master of Novgorod and victorious over the Golden Horde, he resumed his Asian conquests. His troops, crossing the Urals, descended by the Tavda river to its junction with the Tobol, the Tobol to its junction with the Irtysh, in that Siberian Khanate, far south of Yugra, which was not permanently subdued for another century; from where Tobolsk now stands they followed the Irtysh northward into Yugra, where it joined the Ob. The Yugrians submitted afresh; their southern neighbors the Voguls also became tributaries of Moscow; terms of peace were arranged by Philothei, bishop of Perm; and the Vogul prince Yumshan accompanied Philothei to the court of Ivan.

Yet a third expedition was undertaken by the same tsar, sixteen years later, to complete and extend the Moscovite empire in the North-East. In November and December of 1499 three of his generals, with 5000 men, after building a fortress on the Pechora, crossed the Ural on snow-shoes, in the face of a Siberian winter, and broke with fire and sword upon the Yugrians of the Lower Ob. The native princes, drawn in reindeer sledges, hurried to the invaders' camp to make their submission; the Russian leaders scoured the country in similar equipages, their soldiers following in dog-sledges. Forty townships or forts were captured; fifty princes and over 1000 other prisoners were taken; and Ivan's forces, returning to Moscow by the Easter of 1500, reported the entire and final conquest of Yugrians and Voguls.¹⁴

¹⁴ On Ivan III.'s three Siberian expeditions of 1465, 1483 and 1499, see the *Chronicle of Great Ustyug* (*Yetopis Veliko Ustyujskaya*) under these years, pp. 35-36, 41-42, 44-45, in ed. by A. K. Trapeznikov (Moscow, 1888); also Karamzin, *History of Russia*, vol. VI., pp. 176-178, in Einerling's ed. (St. Petersburg, 1842); in St. Thomas and Jauffret's version, vol. VI., pp. 355-359. The deliberate purpose of the new Moscovite departure in 1465 is clearly expressed by the Ustyug chronicler: "the Grand Prince . . . commanded Vasilii Skryaba to conquer the Yugorian land." In 1483, the same authority, while taking the Russian army along the Tavda, makes it pass Tyumen, which lies upon the Tura, quite out of this route, to the south; and credits it with the capture of thousands of prisoners in the Sibir Khanate proper (near Tobolsk). Both by its outward route and by its victories in this Tobolsk region the raid of

These are perhaps the most prominent features of Russian medieval intercourse with Siberia-in-Asia; we may add a few words on Novgorodian and Moscovite dealings with Siberia-in-Europe and other northern regions on this side Ural during the Middle Ages.

To the connections between Novgorod and the less remote provinces of its empire¹⁵ there are abundant references. We have already noticed the expedition which the Republic sent out in 1169 to gather tribute in the Trans-Volok, the foundation of Vyatka in 1174, and the Moscovite demand for silver-payment for the Novgorodian lands beyond the Kama in 1332-1333. The Northern Dvina, the more valuable portion of the great province beyond the Volok, appears more definitely in 1337, when Ivan Kalita attacks it to enforce his Trans-Kama silver claims, but is "brought to shame there"; in 1340, when Novgorod warriors raid Ustyug; in 1342, when a riff-raff of adventurers, under the rebel Luka Valfromeyev, conquer the Dvina settlements and the whole of the Trans-Volok; in 1355-1359, when Ivan II. of Moscow corresponds with the Dvina governor and notables,¹⁶ in 1366, when Novgorodians coming from the Dvina are seized by Moscovite forces; and in the struggle of 1393, when Moscow seizes Vologda and compels Novgorod, despite her capture of Ustyug, to submit to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the metropolitan.¹⁷

1483 anticipates the late sixteenth-century conquest of Siberia. Its progress was rapid: leaving Ustyug May 2, it returned October 1 (Intercession of the Virgin). The expedition of 1499 left the Pechora November 21, and followed (like the Novgorodians of earlier time and the adventurers of 1465?) a far northern route; its first objective beyond Ural was the township of Lyapin in Berezov district, near the Ob estuary. See additional notes at the end of this article.

¹⁵ The Novgorod empire may be considered as divided into two chief parts, (1) the home-land or country of Novgorod settlement proper; (2) the regions of Novgorod trade-domination and political influence. In (1) were included, practically if not technically, a number of tributary cities, e. g., Ladoga, Izborsk, Velikie Luki, Staraya Rusa, Torjok. This home-land had five traditional subdivisions (the Pyatini, or Fifths), viz., I. Vodskaya in the North; II. Shelonskaya in the West; III. Derevskaya in the South; IV. Obonejskaya in the North-East; V. Byejetskaya in the East. A somewhat similar five-fold division is often assumed in (2)—the empire of conquest and trade-supremacy—viz., I. the Trans-Volok or Zavoloche, including in its wider extension all the lands between the White Lake (Byeloe Ozero) and the Mezen, and comprising the Northern Dvina country; II. Ter, Tri or Tre, including Russian Lapland and much of the Novgorodian lands north of Onega and Karelia; part of this, the White Sea coast-land west of Dvina, is often called Pomoria or the seashore region; III. Permia, the Upper Kama basin; IV. Pechora; V. Yugra. Sometimes, it is worth noting, we find the Obonejskaya division of the home-land called Za-Onega, and considered as extending beyond Onega to the North-East.

¹⁶ This correspondence gives perhaps the earliest mention of Kholmogori, see *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia*, etc. (London, Hakluyt Society, 1886), vol. I., p. 23.

¹⁷ See the *Chronicle of Novgorod (Nov. Lyet.)*, ed. of 1888 (as quoted above) under the years A. M. 6845, 6848, 6850, 6874, 6901 (A. D. 1337, 1340, 1342, 1366, 1393).

Ivan Kalita had first turned Moscovite policy towards the seizure of the Dvina basin; besides its proper wealth in furs and timber,¹⁸ he aimed at winning for the Grand Principality an outlet to the ocean. Some sixty years after his death, his schemes are momentarily realized by his fourth successor, Vasilii Dmitrievich (1389–1425). In 1397 all the Dvina people are seduced from Novgorod allegiance, and kiss the cross in fealty to Moscow. The Grand Prince issues in 1398–1399 a series of ordinances for his new subjects which are of interest as the earliest Russian laws preserved since Yaroslav the Legislator in the eleventh century (1016–1054).¹⁹ A fierce struggle now begins for the mastery of the North, resulting for the time in the defeat of Moscow over most of the field. In 1411 we find Novgorod ordering its governor in the Dvina country to operate against Norwegian raiders.²⁰ Yet in the next few years this Dvina country suffered much from freebooters on various sides. Vyatka marauders, allied with Novgorod outlaws, burnt Kholmogori in 1417 and captured several Novgorod notables; in 1419 returned the Northmen or *Murmani*, ravaging far and wide in the Trans-Volok, and sacking the Michael monastery on the site of the present city of Archangel.

Again in 1445 we hear of the Swedes making a descent on the same much-harassed Dvina-land, and being roughly handled and driven off.²¹ Finally the overwhelming power of Moscow, which in 1452 chased an enemy of Vasilii the Blind through the Dvina lands, and in 1458–1459 crushed the independence of Vyatka,

¹⁸ It was also so rich in game of all sorts that before the Grand Princes of Moscow had seized this country, they sent their falconers thither every year by agreement with Novgorod; see Karamzin, *History of Russia* (ed. of 1842, as quoted above), vol. V., p. 93, and note 170; vol. V., p. 191 (St. Thomas and Jauffret).

¹⁹ See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* under A. M. 6905 (A. D. 1397); Karamzin, *History of Russia*, vol. V., pp. 136–137 (ed. 1842); vol. V., pp. 279–282 (St. Thomas and Jauffret).

²⁰ In 1398 the Republic, with a force of about 3000 men, appears to have recovered most of its Dvina territories, storming Ustyug and inflicting heavy punishment (death, fines, etc.) upon its enemies and the Moscow merchants found in this region; in 1401 the Moscovite troops again overrun the whole Dvina country, but are checked in a fight at Kholmogori. Moscow, however, seems to have retained great part of the Vologda valley. In 1435 the Grand Prince agrees to relinquish the Novgorod lands on the Vologda and in other northern regions (Lamsk Volok, the Upper Bejets, etc.), but in 1436 the Novgorod Annals complain that Moscow does not perform this treaty. See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* (ed. 1888, as quoted above), A. M. 6906, 6909, 6919, 6943, 6944 (A. D. 1398, 1401, 1411, 1435, 1436).

²¹ See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* (ed. 1888), A. M. 6925, 6927, 6953 (A. D. 1417, 1419, 1445).

achieved under Vasilii's successor, Ivan the Great, the complete destruction of Novgorodian power on the Dvina (1471).²²

The progress of Russian influence in the regions of the Kama and Pechora is especially connected with the history of the Russian Church and its missions. About 1376 the monk Stephen, afterwards canonized as the apostle and bishop of Permia (Stephan Permskii), founded the earliest church in the Upper Kama valley. It was a daring venture, for a former missionary in this country, so Herberstein assures us, had been flayed by the natives, "while they were yet infants in the Faith".²³ Yet before his death in 1396 Stephen had not only confounded the heathen priests and sorcerers of the Kama, overthrown the idols of the *Voipel* and the *Golden Old Woman*, and stopped the sacrifice of reindeer, but also had secured the triumph of Christianity and prepared the way for Moscovite ascendancy in a region from which, two centuries later, started the Moscovite conquest of the Siberian Khanate. Under Stephen's successors Andrew, Isaac and Pitirim, the Russian Church took root in the Pechora country (1397-1445), just as it did on the White Sea during the same period, through the foundation of the most famous monastery of the Far North, in the island of Solovki or Solovetskii (1429).²⁴

Last among these distant fields of early Russian expansion, we may briefly notice Lapland, the westernmost region of Siberia-in-Europe. Leaving out of account any alleged treaties of the tenth century or other evidence of Novgorodian power in this country before 1264, we have under this last date a clear and authentic reference to Kola as a possession of the Republic in that agreement between the citizens of Novgorod and Prince Yaroslav which has been already noticed for its inclusion of Yugra and the Pechora among the lands of Novgorodian influence.²⁵ Again, the peace

²² See the *Chronicle of Novgorod* (ed. 1888), A. M. 6979 (A. D. 1471), also Karamzin, *History of Russia* (ed. 1842), vol. V., pp. 201, 206, and notes 356, 367; vol. V., pp. 414-415, 424-425 (St. Thomas and Jauffret).

²³ Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1851), vol. II., p. 46.

²⁴ See Karamzin, *History of Russia* (ed. 1842), vol. V., pp. 64-66, 209-210, and notes 125, 126, 137, 232, 377, 378; vol. V., pp. 132-136, 431-433 (St. Thomas and Jauffret). The Solovetskii monastery began with the hermitage of the monk Savvatii in 1429; after this Zosima, with the sanction of Archbishop Jonas of Novgorod and of the government of the Republic, founded the community and the Church of the Transfiguration, which became so celebrated. On the neighboring mainland Christian enterprise appears much earlier; the St. Michael monastery, the germ of Archangel city, was established in the twelfth century by Bishop Ivan of Novgorod (*Early Travels in Russia*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1886, vol. II., p. 190), quoting Dvina MS.

²⁵ See Karamzin, *History of Russia*, vol. IV., p. 59, and notes 115, 116 (ed. of orig. text, 1842); vol. IV., p. 114 (St. Thomas and Jauffret).

concluded, after a period of bitter hostility, between Novgorod and Sweden in 1323 fixed the Varanger Fiord as the boundary between the spheres of the two powers in Lapland. As in other regions, religious control is in time added to mercantile and political; like Stephen in the Kama, and Isaac, Andrew, or Pitirim in the Pechora, Iliya of Novgorod and Theodorite of Solovetskii appear as apostles both of faith and culture to Kola and the Lapps.

It may perhaps not be impertinent to recall how the medieval expansion of the Russian people Asia-wards and Pole-wards is led, not by an absolute monarch, followed by servants drilled into military obedience, but by a fickle, half-theocratic democracy, whose chief activity is commerce, and to whom the right of insurrection is sacred. We may also recall that the free life of Old Novgorod has left traces not only widely-scattered, but also deeply and lastingly implanted in North Russia. Thus the colony which these republicans planted in the well-stocked and beautiful woodland of far-away Vyatka in 1174—though no longer governed, as for the two hundred and seventy-eight years of its independent polity, by elected civil magistrates sharing power, in Novgorod fashion, with Church dignitaries—still keeps much of the manners and customs, the domestic architecture, the head-dress, and even the dialect, of the mother-city. On the other hand, when in the fifteenth century autocratic Moscow replaces its turbulent, liberty-loving, mob-governed rival in the empire of the North, it is clear that popular government has been tried and found wanting among the Eastern Slavs. If Novgorod had not fallen under the Moscovite tsar, she would probably have submitted to the King of Poland. Ivan the Great conquers her, in the name of Orthodoxy, to save her from *Latinism*. And it was unquestionably a more definite political incorporation, a membership in a far more perfectly unified state, which Moscow substitutes for the vague and fluctuating dominion, often no more than a commercial monopoly, of the Novgorodian merchants, throughout Pechora, Yugra and Lapland, if not also through most of Zavoloche and the Dvina country.

Once more, to understand the wide and startling movements of the Russian race, the influence of rivers must not be overlooked. The history of Russia, like that of French America, is river-history in a very special sense: the progress of her conquests in the North is usually progress from one part of a river-basin to another, from one fluvial system to another. The slight elevation of the northern plains puts few obstacles in the way of the inland navigator ascending or descending Dvina and Mezen, passing by easy portages from

Kama to Pechora, from Ladoga to Ural, even (in later time) from Ural to Pacific. Where main streams flow north and south, tributaries navigable for small craft, and often for vessels of considerable size, spread out east and west so as to form a serviceable, though at times circuitous, route for the voyager seeking his "place in the sun".

If the Ural hill-country were not in some places, despite its great breadth, so insignificant a range, the Novgorodian and early Moscovite connection with Siberia-in-Asia might be thought to offer yet another disproof of the fallacy that mountain chains form an absolute barrier between states and races. It is at least remarkable that some of the Slavonic invasions of Yugra (including that of 1499, which completed the subjection of this region to Ivan III.) should have been carried over the Russian Schwarzwald in its really savage and difficult northern portion, and in winter.

And, however little we may like to press the parallel between the trans-Uralian power of Novgorod, or of Moscow, and the penetration of Alpine or Indian mountain-walls by invaders of Italy or of Hindustan, we can hardly be wrong in emphasizing another point. The empire of Novgorod is above all a commercial dominion; the discoveries and conquests of her pioneers are primarily victories of a remarkable trade-expansion. The mercantile side of history has often been treated with contempt by the annalists of the drum and trumpet, even by the students of institutions. But has anything been more efficient in aiding human progress than trade-activity? What form of men's energy has done more to link together the most distant and diverse countries, to bring about the discovery of the earth, to promote truly useful knowledge, to "clear the mind of cant", to break down the obstacles of ignorance, fear and prejudice which once hemmed in mankind and separated its lands and races from one another?²⁸

²⁸ Compare the transitory and imperfect glimpses of ancient and medieval China gained by the European world through political diplomacy, religious missions, or scientific interest, with the full and permanent knowledge which begins with the observations of Venetian merchants (the Polos).

Additional Notes. (a). On the Novgorod expedition of 1032 to the Iron Gates, see under A. D. 1032 in the *Chronicle of Nikon* (*Russkaya Lyetopis po Nikonovu Spisku*), Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg, 1767, vol. I., p. 132, "Uleb went to the Iron Gates from Novgorod: few of them returned, but many perished there."

(b). On the Yugrian expedition of 1193-1194 from Novgorod, see also the *Chronicle of Nikon* (*Russk. Lyet. p. Nikon. Spisk.*), A. D. 1193-1194, vol. II., pp. 259-260; and the *Sophia Chronicle* (*Sophiiskaya Lyetopis*) in the *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles* (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Lyetopisei*), issued by the Russian Archaeographical Commission, vol. V., pp. 169-170.

(c). On Ivan III.'s Siberian expeditions of 1465, 1483 and 1499, see also the

Chronicle of Archangel (Arkhangelogorodskaya Lyetopis), Moscow, 1781, pp. 141, 160–161; and Oksenov, *Political Relations of Moscow with Yugra-land* (in Russian, 1891).

(d). On St. Stephen of Perm, see also *Voskresenskaya Lyetopis* in the *Polnoe Sobranie Russk. Lyet.*, vol. VII., pp. 69–76; the *Life of St. Stephen* by Epiphanius, monk of the St. Sergius monastery near Moscow, in *Monuments of Ancient Russian Literature (Pamyatniki star. Russk. Lit.)*, vol. IV., p. 119; and Klyuchevskii, *Lives of the Saints as Historical Material (Jitiya Svyatikh kak Istoricheskii Istochnik)*, p. 92, etc.

(e). On Bishop Isaac, see also Stroev, *Lists of Russian Hierarchs (Spiski Ierarkhov)*.

(f). On the early history of Solovetskii Monastery, see also Klyuchevskii, *Lives of the Saints (Jitiya, etc., as above)*, pp. 198–203.

(g). On the treaty of 1264, mentioning Kola, etc., see also *The Collection of Imperial Charters and Treaties (Sobranie Gosudarstvenik Gramot i Dogоворов)*, I.

(h). On the treaty of 1323 between Novgorod and Sweden, see *Antiquités Russes* (Copenhagen, 1850–1852), vol. II., pp. 490–491. *Antiq. Russes* (II. 492–493) also gives a treaty of June 3, 1325, between Novgorod and Sweden; an undated but very early determination of limits between Norway and Russia (II. 492–494); and an account of the Norse expedition of 1222 to Biarmaland (White Sea coasts and Lower Dvina) led by Andres Svialdarband and Ivar Utvik (II. 81–82, from *Saga of Hakon Hakonson*, §§ 81, 102).

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